THE

LIFE AND CHARACTER

OF

LEONARD WOODS, D.D., LL.D.

BY

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The substance of the following Memorial was originally prepared to be delivered at the funeral of President Woods. It was afterwards remodelled for the purpose of reading it to a circle of his friends in Boston. A portion of it was subsequently and informally read in Bartlet Chapel to members of the Andover Theological Seminary, on the day of the completion of the monument over his grave. Many of his relatives and friends have requested the Memorial for the press, and it is now published in compliance with their desire.

MEMORIAL.

LEONARD WOODS, whose life and character we are now to commemorate, was born at West Newbury, Massachusetts, on the twenty-fourth of November, one thousand eight hundred and seven. He died in Boston on the twenty-fourth of December, one thousand eight hundred and seventy-eight, at the age of seventy-one years and one month. His father was Dr. Leonard Woods, of whom it need only be said, that without his aid, and that of Dr. Eliphalet Pearson, the Andover Theological School would probably have never existed. The mother of Mr. Woods was Abby Wheeler, whose virtues were portrayed by Prof. Stuart, and by other appreciative friends, in a pamphlet which appeared soon after her demise. In his infancy the parents removed to Andover, and here they trained their child in the principles of a strict though kindly Puritanism. Some parts of the following narrative will be unintelligible except in view of the fact, that the surprising memory, the beautiful tastes, the pliant temper, the sweet, obedient, and docile spirit, the filial affection of the boy moulded the character of the Professor and President. 'The child was the father of the man.' His early and peculiar love for his parents and his ancestors bloomed out into a love for an idealized Puritanism which he associated with them. It is a noteworthy incident that all the Founders of our Theological Seminary, and all its early Professors, were attracted to him in his boyhood; and their words of kindness were sometimes recalled by him in his later years with a reverential gratitude. He might have been fitly called the child of the Institution.

At the age of eight years he entered Phillips Academy, and he continued in it eight years. Many still remember him as at that time a boy accurate in the use of the English language, quick in his acquisition of Latin and Greek, not addicted to athletic sports, but absorbed with the classic authors. He was noted for dignity rather than playfulness. What is said of boys as such may be said of him with an emphasis: "Maxima debetur pueris reverentia." Still he was loved not less than admired. His future eminence was predicted by Eliphalet Pearson, the President of the Board of Trustees. That learned President was accustomed to address the students of the Academy at its public anniversaries; and his remarks often aroused the enthusiasm of young Woods. One of these addresses in particular made a life-long impression on the susceptible boy, and stirred him to move onward and upward. It was often suggested to his mind by its closing words: "Juvenes! pergite, pergite ad astra." Among his contemporaries in the school were such men as Dr. Alexander H. Vinton, Dr. William A. Stearns, Mr. Nathaniel P. Willis, Mr. Robert Rantoul, Mr. Osgood Johnson. There were other names forming a bright constellation, but none of them shone brighter than the name of Leonard Woods. At the closing anniversary of his academic life he was the cynosure of all eyes. All the adjectives applied to him were superlatives. On that day it might have been said of him as was said by Dr. Kirkland of Fisher Ames: "He did not need the smart of guilt to make him virtuous, nor the regret of folly to make him wise."[1] Had he been called from earth on that day, we can easily imagine the elegiac strains of many a harp mourning over one flower of genius withered away before it had fully opened.—'The beauty of Israel is fallen on its high places.' 'As soon as men had begun to turn their telescopes toward the star, it faded away.'

Having entered the Academy in September 1815, and left it in August 1823, he was admitted, in the autumn of that

[1] Life and Works of Fisher Ames, Vol. i. p. 17.

year, to the Freshman Class of Dartmouth College. In 1824, however, he transferred his relation from Dartmouth to Union College. Here his plastic mind received a deep and lasting impress from Dr. Eliphalet Nott, the President of the Institution, and from Dr. Alonzo Potter, then Professor of Mathematics in the College, and afterward Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Pennsylvania. Among his intimate friends at Union was Dr. Horatio Potter, the present Bishop of the Episcopal Church in the Diocese of New York. Several of his college classmates have become eminent. One of them, Professor William Thompson of the Hartford Theological Seminary, says of Mr. Woods: "He stood the first in his college class. I think that he reached the highest mark in every branch of study. His essays and poems were a rich treat to our Adelphic Society, of which he was a member and an ornament. His feats in the composition of Greek Iambics and Hexameters were regarded as wonderful."[1]

In the autumn of 1827 he entered the Andover Theological Seminary. In different parts of his Seminary course he was a classmate of Dr. Wm. G. Schauffler, the noted missionary; Dr. Wm. Adams, and Dr. Geo. B. Cheever of New York; Prof. B. B. Edwards of Andover, Prof. Charles C. Jones of Columbia, South Carolina, and also of Columbia, Georgia, and Prof. Thompson of Hartford, Connecticut, who was his roommate at Andover, as well as at Schenectady. No member of the Theological School was better versed than Mr. Woods in the niceties of the Hebrew and Greek languages. He was interested not only in the accents and grammatical forms of these languages, but also in their genius, their spirit, their literature. Not one of his associates had a larger acquaintance than he with the writings of the French, German, and old English authors.

During the second and third years of his Seminary course he was engaged in translating the Lectures on Christian Theology of the German Professor, George Christian Knapp.

[1] Spirit of the Pilgrims, v. 531.

In making this translation, and enriching it with original notes, he studied the works of Schliermacher, Marheinecke, Brettschneider, Morus, Neander, Kant, and other noted Germans. He also investigated the general character of the theology which had prevailed in the Mediaeval and the earlier ages. When he began this translation he was less than twenty-one years of age; when he finished it he was less than twenty-four. His lengthened Preface to the Lectures, and his notes upon them were said by more than one Reviewer to give "indications of even a deeper philosophical spirit and a more generous flow of soul than the original work itself." They certainly evinced an uncommon maturity of mind in a man so young. More in the style of Archbishop Leighton than in that of a seminary student, he insisted on a profound religious experience for the acquisition of a symmetrical theology. He was fond of repeating the adage of Pascal: "As it is necessary to know human things in order to love them, so it is necessary to love divine things in order to know them." In 1831 his translation was published at Andover, in two volumes, both of which contain twelve hundred and twenty-seven pages. A seventh edition of his Lectures was published in Philadelphia in 1858. The work was republished in Great Britain in 1841. It has been extensively used as a text-book in Theological Seminaries. Its usefulness might have been extended still further into the future if Mr. Woods had continued to care for it; if, as it was successively republished, he had modified some of his own translations, supplemented some of Dr. Knapp's discussions, and kept the work abreast of the times. In his fondness for books in general he neglected that which was his own offspring. He had such a high ideal of a perfect treatise, that he could never get the heart to make this treatise as nearly perfect as he might have made it. A high ideal inspirits one man and dispirits another. Leonardo da Vinci never finished his great work, because there floated before his mind the image of a greater. A sense of perfection makes some men imperfect. It is an old German proverb: "The best is often the enemy of the good."

Having finished his Seminary course in September 1830, he spent the two following years as an Abbot Resident at Andover. In these two years his life resembled that of a Fellow in an English University. He was a recluse. He seldom made or received a social visit. Almost every day he devoted ten hours to his books. If he had persevered in this scholastic life, and devoted his maturer studies to the editing of his father's Lectures, as he had devoted his more juvenile studies to the Lectures of Dr. Knapp; if he had added the luxuriance of his learning and imagination to the cautious statements in his father's Theological System, he would have done the work for which we should have thought that Providence designed him. As it was, he rendered important aid to his father during these two years; and still more important aid to Professor Stuart in preparing for the press his Commentary on the Romans. He also assisted Professor Edward Robinson in conducting the Biblical Repository. His merit as a critical and accurate proof-reader, as a classical and biblical scholar, was fully recognized by Professor Robinson, and led to the young man's appointment, during the second year of his Abbot Residence, to be the Assistant Hebrew Instructor in the Seminary. This was the palmy day of the Institution. Professor Robinson had just become the Professor of Hebrew, and he, in conjunction with Professor Stuart, attracted in 1832 a Junior Class of seventy-nine men. So large a class was necessarily divided; the two divisions alternated, each of them reciting to Professor Robinson on one day, and to Mr. Woods on the next. There were men of mark in the class. Among them were Presidents Samuel G. Brown, and Asa D. Smith; Professors Alpheus Crosby, Clement Long, Elias Loomis, Daniel Smith Talcott, William S. Tyler; and several scholars like David Fosdick, Jarvis Gregg, who had attained eminence in their youth. To stand up on one day before men like these, who had met Professor Robinson on the preceding day, required no ordinary self-possession. Professor Robinson had resided four years among the literati of Europe, and had come home

laden with the spoils of German learning. In age he was the senior of Mr. Woods by thirteen years, and had enjoyed valuable experience as an instructor. Mr. Woods was only twenty-four years old, was an utter novice in teaching; and yet he stood up so nearly the equal of Professor Robinson, that the class were on the whole as well satisfied with one as with the other. The Professor was more profound in his knowledge of the Hebrew and its cognates, the assistant had a richer store of illustrative literature. The Professor drew the more exact diagram, the assistant painted the more expressive picture. The Professor was the more exact, yet the class felt no want of exactness in the assistant. The assistant was the more fascinating in his suggestions, yet the class felt no want of interest in the Professor. The assistant had the disadvantage of inferior authority; but he had one conspicuous advantage — he was a preacher. His first sermons were delivered in the old Bartlet Chapel. They were not perhaps his best, but they were probably his most fascinating sermons. He never charmed his auditors more than he charmed the pupils of the Seminary and the Academy. He seemed to be formed for a preacher to an audience of scholars. He was a "University Preacher."

He did not leave Andover as the place of his permanent residence until February 1833, when he was twenty-five years and three months old. The day of his departure was a day of lamentation on Andover hill. He had now spent thirteen years as an indefatigable student in or near the Andover schools. Here let us for a few moments close the volume of history, and listen to such prophecies of his future career as were current at that time.

'He will publish volume after volume of sermons which will add a new grace and dignity to the American pulpit. He will send forth treatise after treatise on Biblical or Historical or Dogmatic Theology, will enrich the science with a large wealth of learning, and adorn it with an exquisite rhetoric. He will not only move forward clothed with the robes

of his father's reputation, but will also rise upward, and will add the hosts of his own admirers to the congregation which had already learned to trust the name which he inherited. If his course of thought should for a time deflect from that of his father, he will return to it at last; and during his occasional excursions into the fields of ancient or mediaeval, philosophical or poetical, literature he will gather riches of illustration and argument for variegating the path from which he had wandered for a season. He will exert a refining and an elevating influence on the Christian denomination in the bosom of which are the friends by whom he has been nurtured, and whom he holds fast in a grateful love. Theologians of various schools will look up to him as a shining light while he lives, and a bright star will go down when he descends to his grave.'

The reasons for these prophecies regarding him were the following: He was inured to habits of mental diligence, and his capacious memory retained the large information which he had acquired; he started in his public life at no small distance ahead of his co-equals in age, and there appeared no reason to believe that he would lose the vantage-ground attained by his early discipline; he was precocious, but yet in a healthy way, and gave no sign that the rapidity of his development would be lessened with age; he had a rare purity of spirit, an exceeding sweetness of temper, a winning facility and grace of speech.

There were reasons, however, which lessened the confidence of some men who uttered the foregoing prophecies. His early characteristics did not all point in one direction. Some of these characteristics shed a light, and others a mystery over his later life. Let us examine them before we reopen the volume of his biography.

He had a speculative mind. He took peculiar delight in the processes of philosophy. He was allured to them partly by the fact that they were intricate. He was charmed by the recondite theories of the Schoolmen, partly by the fact

that they were recondite. He was especially attracted to such theories as were lighted up with the scintillations of genius, or adorned with marked beauties of style. The Corinthian pillars, adorned with the acanthus leaves, gave him joy. He preferred Plato to Aristotle, the German metaphysics to the Scotch. He had a decided antipathy to John Locke, and was no admirer of Thomas Reid. He was one of the earliest American scholars who enjoyed the lucubrations of Cousin and Coleridge, and hailed the advent of the transcendental intuitional philosophy into our land. He was one of the earliest advocates of the "Aids to Reflection." President Marsh had a high admiration for him.

His mind was imaginative and poetical. The analogies between the sphere of nature and the sphere of spirit presented themselves to him at once. He had a quick and keen sense of the beautiful, the graceful, the sublime, the grand. He was allured more than his compeers toward the aesthetic worth of theories. An argument was commended to him by the beauty of it. Still his imagination, fertile as it was, did not absorb, though it did affect, his reasoning powers. He would often adhere to a metaphysical train of thought when the beauties of nature were calling him away from it. In a morning walk he would watch the splendors of an Andover sunrise, while he did not intermit his conversation on the difference between the reason and the understanding. He would admire the grandeur of some flying cloud, but in a moment would resume his speech on the intuitive beliefs as superior to the logical processes. When a member of Phillips Academy he was often accompanied in his walks by one of his fellow-students, who was then a poet, and afterward became a noted one; but young Woods was wearied and annoyed with his companion's fancies, which, although beautiful in themselves, were not associated with any principle of science or of morals. — What then shall we say? for he was esteemed by some as a philosopher, and by others as a poet. We say that he was distinguished by a rare combination of the specu-

lative with the imaginative tendencies. If he had directed his energies to the preparation of a text-book on Psychology, he might have fascinated his readers with his clear thought expressed in ornate style. He was a philosopher, but was too imaginative to be a philosopher distinctively. He was a poet, but was too didactic to be a poet distinctively. In his youth his poems were too philosophical, and his philosophical essays were too poetical. Two or three critics have said of the poet Dryden, that his imagination resembled the wings of an ostrich: it enabled him to move faster than many others when he ran on the ground, but did not enable him to move so high as some others when he attempted to soar in the air.

Another characteristic of Mr. Woods, as a young man, was a love of order and ceremony. His temper unfitted him for severity in *executing* a law; still he was fond of *having* a law. He did not choose to exercise authority, but he did choose that authority be exercised. He was in favor of rules sharply marked and firmly established in the church as well as in the State. The plan of treating a church as if it were a neighborly club or coterie, authorized to disband itself at the will of the majority; the plan of encouraging ignorant men to exhort the educated and refined at a religious conference; of allowing women whether lettered or unlettered to address a promiscuous assembly; of permitting laymen to occupy the clergyman's chair, and to instruct the pastor sitting in the layman's pew; of adopting the familiar style in which the private members of the church address their pastor as brother, — every such plan he regarded as degrading the authority of religion. He had a special fondness for such schemes of government as foster a respect not only for learning and moral worth, but also for age, and for office as such. Since there are natural, he believed that there should be official distinctions among men. He loved to picture the church as John Milton pictures the "empyreal host of angels," — "of hierarchies, of orders, of degrees,"[1] "thrones, dominations,

[1] Paradise Lost, Bk. v. l. 592.

princedoms, virtues, powers."[1] His early tendencies were not toward a democracy in the church or in the state; not toward republicanism; especially not toward universal suffrage; but toward an aristocracy, the government τῶν ἀριστῶν; and even toward a monarchy.

He had an esteem for ecclesiastical vestments, marking the gradations of ecclesiastical officers, and guarding their dignity. He believed that the robes of office, appealing to the imagination of men, teach a salutary lesson; that liturgical forms secure the decorum and the majesty of worship, and are important as means of popular instruction, not less than of orderly devotion. He venerated the conservatism of dress as well as of manners which marks the old universities and the old churches of Europe.

Germane to the preceding qualities was one by which Mr. Woods was marked in a special degree. This was his reverence for antiquity. The workings of his mind are doubly mysterious to those who do not understand his enthusiasm for what he called "the solemn and shadowy regions of the past." He learned in Phillips Academy to love the ancient authors; his comprehensive memory retained their sayings, and his amiable temper led him to linger on their good words and hide their evil. Long before the Gothic architecture was adopted for our Puritan sanctuaries he was influential in recommending it. "I believe," said an objector "that a meeting-house should be constructed according to the laws of *acoustics*." "I believe," was the young man's answer, "that a church should be erected according to the laws of *optics*." This was the style of the "believing ages." The spirit of worship was stirred within him when, in his Andover study, he reflected on the old cathedral, eloquently building into itself the expressive cross, and lifting up its spires to

[1] Paradise Lost, Bk. v. l. 600, 601. In this aspect he took an early and a peculiar delight in repeating such passages in the Roman Catholic Liturgy as "cum Angelis et Archangelis, cum Thronis et Dominationibus, cumque omni militia coelestis exercitus, hymnum gloriae tuae canimus, sine fine dicentes," etc.

heaven as accompaniments of the prayers which were rising from it morning and evening, day and night, in the centuries gone by. In his early youth his veneration was drawn forth toward the more ancient temples of Egypt and Greece, and in an ominous degree there glimmered before his admiring eye the dome of St. Peter's, that Pantheon hanging in the air.

At the time of his entering on public life, the churches of New England were in a debate regarding certain new measures of Christian activity. Almost by an instinct was his preference decided for the old against the new. Our churches were in controversy in regard to new theories of Christian doctrine. As if he were a venerable controversialist he stood up firm in his opposition to the novel theories. He held the substance of his father's creed not only because he deemed it accurate, but also because he deemed it ancient. In his theological investigations he adopted the old legal maxims: "Stare super vias antiquas"; "Stare decisis et non quieta movere." His love for the established faith as contrasted with the innovating formularies was regarded as an omen of his future eminence in the church. His imagination, men thought, would suggest new persuasives for the adoption of the old creeds. His philosophical spirit and aesthetic nature would present those creeds in an authoritative and attractive form. His love of the antique would lead him into a broad field of historical investigation, and it was not easy to decide whether he would be the more useful as an historian or as a philologist.

Characterized as Mr. Woods was by a love of antiquity, it was to be expected that he would feel a profound veneration for the Bible. He revered it as instinct with the noblest and the tenderest sentiments, as fostering the true principles of jurisprudence, as the summit of the highest philosophy. While a member of our Theological Seminary he was bold in his declaration, that the proof in favor of the inspired word is more logical than the proof in favor of any scientific theories which seemed to be in conflict with that word. He believed

that the Bible "is not merely co-ordinate with nature, but superior to it;" its assertions are not to be modified by the discoveries of science, but are the standard by which the discoveries of science are to be tested. He did not believe that there is any, but he did believe that if there should be any, opposition between any theory which reason asserts and any theory which the Bible asserts, we must reject the former as the utterance of man, and accept the latter as the utterance of God. He adhered to the dictum that we are not to inquire what the Scriptures ought to teach, and then interpret them according to the result of our inquiries; but we are first to ascertain what the Scriptures do teach, and then must subordinate our antecedent opinions to that teaching. Hence he did not first examine the records of geology in order to decide whether the world was created in six literal days, within the last six, eight, or ten thousand years, but he first examined the book of Genesis and accepted the obvious, literal meaning of its words. "Where, then, is the science of geology," he was asked. "Where is the Bible," he replied. His opinion was that if the Scriptures, when interpreted independently of all science, teach the doctrine of Baptismal Regeneration, we must believe the doctrine even if science contradicts it; and if the Bible, when examined irrespectively of all judgments prompted by the senses, asserts that the sacramental bread is the body and the sacramental wine is the blood of Christ, we must believe in the doctrine of Transubstantiation, let the eye and the touch and the taste oppose it as they will. Every doctrine of what men term common sense must yield to the inspired word, and this word must not yield to any doctrine of common sense or uncommon. His eye never glistened, his face never glowed with so much enthusiasm, as when he exalted the Divine Word to be the judge by which every system of merely human discovery was to be acquitted or condemned. One of the sentences which he wrote before he left his father's roof is an accurate expression of his early disrespect for all systems of philosophy, for all pretended intuitions or

deductions which conflict in any degree with what he regarded as the inspired regulator of all science. After denouncing the Rationalism of Germany, he says: "In the days of Spener, Theology was the Queen of Sciences, so acknowledged by the mouth of Bacon, Leibnitz, Haller, and others, — their chosen oracles. She wore the insignia of divinity; and 'filled her odorous lamp' at the very original fountain of light. But in an evil hour, she took this flattering Rationalism to her bosom. Now stripped of every mark of divinity, cut off from her native source of light, and thrust out into the dark, this foolish virgin is compelled to say to her sister Sciences, 'Give me of your oil; for my lamp has gone out.'" [1]

The preceding traits of Mr. Woods were intertwined with another which it is not easy to portray. He had an intense individuality of character. He was himself; he was like nobody else. He united in his own person qualities which seem to be mutually repellent. The associations of the word forbid us to call him eccentric, yet he was original in the structure of his mind and heart. His early companions will say that he was eminently social, yet he lived often aloof from even the friends whom he loved. They will commonly say that he was transparent; but by no means was it true that, as Goethe says of Shakspeare's characters, he was like a clock with a crystal dial-plate which lets men see all the machinery within. Communicative, indeed, he was; but he often seemed to be moving around the centre of a circle the circumference of which was not stepped over by his most intimate companions. Walking his room in a reverie he seemed to be possessed by incommunicable ideas. He seemed to have been made not after the model of the nineteenth century; not after the American standard; but for living in an age gone by, with the Benedictines on Monte Casino, walking over the floors of Florentine mosaic, enjoying the precious marbles around the altar, regaling his vision on the pan-

[1] Translation of Dr. Knapp's Theology, Vol. i. Preface, p. xv.

orama of the Italian plains and mountains, revelling in the library of antique manuscripts, feasting on the reminiscences of Tasso and Thomas Aquinas. Still, monastic as were his tastes, his love for his friends was wonderful, passing the love of women. All this originality of character attracted uncommon attention to him as a conversationalist, for men love to commune with one who is not the exact counterpart of every other. At the same time it threw an air of mystery around him. This mystery gained for him one kind of influence, but took away from him another. A mysterious man is apt to be a suspected man. Mr. Woods would have been in his early days an object of suspicion, had he not been saved from it by his kindly spirit breathed out in his urbane manners.

As we have noticed that one tendency of his mind was held in check by another, so we may notice that all of his characteristics were modified by two which rarely exist in union. The first of these two was a love of personal independence. As he *was* unique, so he loved to make unique expressions. His father would modify the statements which the son would leave unqualified. The father chose to propitiate the common mind by guarded words; the son, amiable as he was, often discarded euphemisms, and uttered some unpopular thought in some needlessly unpopular way.

The second of the antagonistic traits in Mr. Woods was his sympathy with his companions. Independent, self-poised, he yet loved to harmonize with his personal or literary friends. Indeed, his literary became his personal friends. The men with whom he communed in books were as dear to him as the men with whom he communed face to face.

It was interesting to notice the degree in which his character was moulded by his father. His filial love was eminently strong, and was exhibited in the very heart of his metaphysical Essays. It led him into a peculiar fondness for the clergymen, so unlike himself, who were allied with his father in theological controversy, into a veneration for

the Pilgrim and Puritan theologians with whom the heart of his father was identified. It was natural to predict that he could never be persuaded to leave the religious denomination hallowed by the memory of the early pastors of New England. He revered them as rugged men who upheld the authority of the pulpit and enforced the command: "*Obey* them who have the *rule* over you"; as stalwart divines, each of whom was a bishop in his own diocese, and exerted a controlling influence not only over ecclesiastical but also over secular affairs; as Episcopal Congregationalists who kept the laymen in their proper place, were distinguished from laymen by a clerical attire, adapted their sermons not to small children, but to strong men.

His delight in the stern Calvinists of our Puritan colonies was equalled by his delight in Dr. Newman and Dr. Pusey, those noted opponents of Calvinism, and in the divines and philosophers of the early and the Middle Ages. It may be said of him, as has been said of Pusey: "The patristic language was one with which he felt instinctively at home; he had been an early disciple of the Fathers; he dwelt with a congenial love upon their mysterious intuitions, their dark sayings, their awful windings of thought, their large field of spiritual analogies, their lights, their shadows, their oracular hints, their sacred fancy, their force and their feeling. He had a sympathy with all this."[1]

Two or three of the traits already ascribed to Mr. Woods may be presented in a somewhat different phase. As a youthful student he was animated by a love of ideas more than by any personal aims, or by a literary or scientific enthusiasm. The motives which have influence on other students had of course a degree of influence on him. Still, in the proportion of these influences upon him he was peculiar. He was not exempt from ambition, but some of his comrades had more of it, if we define ambition as a desire to

[1] Mozley's Essays, Historical and Theological (Rivington's ed.), Vol. ii. p. 162.

surpass other men. The path to fame lay open before him, but he manifested no special eagerness to walk in it. "The trophies of Miltiades did not disturb his sleep." Doubtless he felt the touch of emulation as distinct from ambition, and as consisting in a desire to reach, or rise above, a particular standard because other men are aiming to reach it or have risen above it already. Many of his comrades, however, were in this view more emulous of excellence than he. They likewise had more of what is called aspiration, as distinguished from emulation, and as consisting in a desire to rise not higher than others, not as high as others, not with any reference to others, but to rise high in character or achievement for the mere sake of the character or achievement.[1] He was not particularly stirred by the thought of taking John Milton's "no middle flight." In his youth he did not resolutely devote himself to any far-reaching plan for his future life. Without any undue love of reputation he might have projected some monumental work of which he could say "*This* one thing *I do*"—(ἓν δέ). Macaulay cannot be accused of any selfish ambition because he concentrated his otherwise divergent energies into a single focus. "I have aimed high," he writes; "I have tried to do something that may be remembered; I have had the year two thousand, and even the year three thousand, often in my mind; I have sacrificed nothing to temporary fashions of thought and style." The aims of Mr. Woods were less personal than those of Macaulay. He was actuated by a love of truth, but in this he did not rise above some of his companions in study; nor had he more of an impulse than they to delve into the mysteries of science or arrange its phenomena in the most logical method. It was not a curiosity to find out the exact system of truth, not a desire to dig for it as for hidden treasures; but it was a hospitality for the beautiful and noble ideas which were presented to him by the muses and the

[1] The exact truth is suggested rather than expressed in the aphorism: "A noble man compares and estimates himself by an idea which is higher than himself, and a mean man by one that is lower than himself. The one produces aspiration, the other ambition."

sages; it was a quick and sympathetic recipiency for the great and good thoughts of the literary patriarchs; it was an interest in perfecting the sentiments which pleased his taste and imagination, and were adorned with graceful language, —this it was which made him a young scholar apart by himself. He was wafted along by his diversified sensibilities into variable courses of reflection, and was not anxious to steer his bark into any one channel. These courses of reflection 'entertained his mind with variety and delight,' and he sailed to and fro enraptured with the ever-changing prospects. He did not fix his eye upon any one goal. He thought more of the current along which he might drift, and less of the anchor which might prevent his movement.

It would be unjust to say that in his early life he had a marked love of his own ease; it is simply just to say that he *rested* in his love of grand and venerable ideas. Thus he gave occasion for hostile critics to repeat the sayings: "Bene cogitare non multo melius est quam bene somniare"; "Contemplatio, speciosa inertia." There is a kind of mental activity akin to intellectual repose. A freedom from undue emulation is a virtue; the greater virtue, if it be united with a spirit of literary enterprise. There is a kind of unrecognized indolence indulged by a mind which is always busy; a mind which will never tolerate an indolence deliberate or recognized; a mind which is so busy in the more pleasant and the less difficult processes of thought that it finds no time for the less pleasant and the more difficult. Seneca says that "not only is he an idle man that does nothing, but he also who might be better employed." The early friends of Mr. Woods did not believe that his tendency to indulge in noble reveries like those of the schoolmen would strengthen with his strength; but they did presume that his habits of diligence, like those of the schoolmen, would grow with his growth, and would outgrow his love for the beauties of mediaeval literature. Years are more apt to mature the judgment than to enliven the imagination or quicken the taste.

In his youth Mr. Woods was characterized by such a variety and strength of emotion as was too great for the power of his will. We need not say that his will was too weak; it is more charitable to say that his feelings were too strong and too diversified. His will was powerful enough for the common range of sentiments, but not for so wide a range as his.

Hence, as a young man he was not practical. He calmly meditated on a thing to be done, but was not quick to resolve on doing it. He was delighted with the contemplation of a deed, would intend to perform it, and would be satisfied with the intention. The Chevalier Bunsen wrote when twenty-seven years old, "I hold fast, as well as I can, by the principle not to let fall anything once begun."[1] Mr. Woods at the age of twenty-seven did not hold such a principle, still less did he hold it fast. By no means was he destitute of either a taste or a talent for business. Even as a young man he was often consulted by his father on grave questions of expediency. He often manifested a large degree of diplomatic skill. If as a boy he had been more familiar with other boys, and less familiar with scholastic divines, then as a candidate for the ministry he might perhaps have been as fond of exerting himself in public as of serenely meditating in private. Martin Luther advised men to become teachers of the common school before they became teachers in the pulpit; for in superintending the child's mind they would learn the guiding principles of human nature. It has been often prescribed that every one before entering a learned profession should be trained in the labors of a farm, or in some form of handicraft. Mr. Woods had received no homely discipline like this. He lived in an atmosphere of theories; his imagination entwined itself around them, as a vine around an oak; but when he was summoned to act out those theories, he chose to entertain them still. He indulged himself in them, instead of working for them, or inquiring whether they could be carried out or not. He was Oriental rather than Occidental in his habits of thought; and seemed to be sailing over

[1] Memoirs, Vol. i. p. 154.

the Bosphorus in a caique, with nothing to do but to charm himself with a scheme floating before his imagination.

As he was not distinctively practical, so when a young man he was not self-consistent in the details of his life. It is said of one person: You know just where to find him; his nature is so impoverished, he is so blear-eyed that he cannot see the way out of the beaten path; he is self-consistent because his nature is so poor. Mr. Woods was not this person. It is said of another man: You know just where to find him; for although he has intense and diversified emotions, yet he has a will strong enough to control them; he is a self-consistent man because his powers exactly balance his sensibilities. Mr. Woods was not this man; his character was rich, but not well rounded and complete. He was not the captain of a small company, reducing his few soldiers to subjection, neither was he the general of a large army, keeping all his regiments and batallions in due order. Was he serene? He was fond of those devotional writers (as Dalgairn, for example) who were the most intense. He had a real love for Rousseau, because Rousseau expressed such a passion for the character of Christ. But was the young man intense? He was noted for his calmness. He seemed to be a quietist. Still he illustrated the remark of Thoreau: "When I see a man with serene countenance, it looks like a great leisure that he enjoys; but in reality he sails on no summer's sea. This steady sailing comes of a heavy hand on the tiller." Was Mr. Woods a sympathetic man? Yes; by a kind of instinct he was moved to defend the weaker of two opponents, and if the question between the two were exactly balanced, he was only to learn which was the stronger ere his sympathies clustered around the feebler. Was he apathetic? More than forty years ago, when the party of abolitionists began their warfare against slavery, it was expected that a youth so compassionate as he would sympathize with them; but he became their firm opponent; he dreaded the confusion which might come from disturbing the ancient usages of society. Was he catholic in his feelings? Among

his various emotions he appeared to have some kind of a leaning toward something good in almost every man, and almost every party; and if others injured him he commonly uttered kind words in regard to them. Was he uncharitable? When he suspected men of innovating upon the established faith of his sect, or the immemorial usages of his party, he gave a new illustration of the maxim, that a contest with one's kindred is more severe than a contest with strangers. "Charity never faileth"; but his charity failed when he contended with innovators. And was he not himself an innovator? He favored such novelties only as he thought were a reproduction of antiquities. He pleaded for such innovations only as he thought would rehabilitate the ancient usages. Was he a cautious man? Yes. Was he incautious? Yes In his youth he was fond of narrating incidents in which it appeared doubtful, whether he was the more adventurous in plunging into awkward dilemmas, or the more dexterous in extricating himself from them. Had he a *sense* of consistency? Did he *care* to be one *with* himself? for he certainly was *by* himself. He did not appear to be one of those men whose method of speculating is influenced by their practice; nor one of those men whose practice is influenced by their method of speculating. In fact, he sometimes appeared to be made up of two personalities, one of them believing in a theory, the other acting against it. One lengthened series of his developments was consistent with one of these personalities; another lengthened series was consistent with another of them. Still he seemed to have some occult mode of harmonizing to his own mind those phases of thought and act which seldom meet in one and the same man. He did not move in a straight line toward one central orb, nor in a straight line away from it, but he revolved around it. He meant to be as self-consistent as the moon in its relation to the earth; and if his movements were oscillating in brief portions of his course, he meant to make them, like the movements of the moon, regular on the whole.

We have now considered the predictions which were made by the early friends of Mr. Woods in regard to his future career.[1] These predictions might, perhaps, have been more exactly fulfilled if one event had occurred which his friends had anticipated. The whole current of his thoughts and studies might have been directed by that event, as the course of a ship is determined by a slight movement of the rudder. Not long after Professor Edward Robinson resigned his Professorship at Andover, Mr. Woods was highly recommended as a candidate for the vacant office. If he had occupied that office he would have been surrounded by troops of friends, his own and his father's; would have been associated with men known to him from his boyhood, and endeared to him by their paternal interest in his career; would have continued to breathe the intellectual and spiritual atmosphere which had invigorated as well as regaled him in his early days; would have been moved by that mysterious air breathing forth from the *genius loci;* would have felt the united impulse of habit, of interest, and of duty to pursue a course of life like that which had been marked out for him. Every one is in some degree the child of circumstances. We need not except that man who bears up against the sway of all circumstances, and derives a peculiar force of character from the very circumstance that they had a power which he resisted.

It has been said that in certain contingencies the prophecies in regard to Mr. Woods *might* have been fulfilled; let us now re-open the volume of his biography, and learn how far they *were* fulfilled.

In the early part of 1833, having already declined various informal calls to important offices, he accepted an invitation to supply the pulpit of the Laight Street Presbyterian Church in New York, during the absence of Rev. Samuel H. Cox, D D., who was to spend several months in Europe. The subdued rhetoric of Mr. Woods was so unlike the shining style of Dr. Cox, the clerical tastes and the theological ten-

[1] See pages 10, 11.

dencies of the one appeared to be so incompatible with those of the other, that men were surprised at his receiving the invitation, more surprised at his accepting it, and most of all surprised that he should have succeeded in a service where most men would have failed. His sermons resulted in obvious and permanent good. He produced an impression on some minds that he was peculiarly qualified for a pastorate. He might have become a most impressive preacher to an aristocratic parish in a city, or to a congregation of literary men in a university. He would have earned a great advantage to himself as a practical man if he had inured himself to pastoral labor among the unlettered and the poor.

After he had closed his term of service at Laight Street, he remained in New York until the year 1835. He was ordained there as an evangelist by the Third Presbytery. His father preached the ordination sermon. The sermon confirmed the general expectation that the young man set apart for the ministry would be a discriminating preacher of the Calvinistic doctrines. It recommended that these doctrines, decrees and election among the rest, be preached in the progress of a religious revival. It was such a sermon as Jonathan Edwards might have delivered at the ordination of his pupil, Samuel Hopkins; or such as Joseph Bellamy might have delivered at the ordination of his pupil and son-in-law, Dr. Levi Hart. The style of preaching here advocated by the father was admired by the son, as the torso of the Vatican was admired by Michael Angelo. When the son, however, came to supply the missing accompaniments of the torso, he chiselled a somewhat different statue from that which was projected by the father. The son had his own views of the style appropriate to the pulpit. Although skilled in philosophy, he eschewed it in a sermon. He had a peculiar love for debate in private converse, but a peculiar aversion to controversy in the pulpit. Although fond of doctrinal, he was not particularly fond of argumentative sermons. If he had been a vain man, he might have astonished his hearers by a display of his Biblical philology. Like

a modest man, he appealed to the intuitive belief of his hearers. He relied on the faith which they had received from tradition. He chose to present a doctrine without disclosing the processes of arriving at it; to hold it before his auditors; to turn it around; to let them look at it on all sides. It was a statue speaking for itself. He seemed to be communing with his theme, rather than grappling with the will of his hearers; to be more interested in principles than in his hearers. He chose not personally to enforce a doctrine, but to present it so that it would enforce itself; not personally to point out the moral of a truth, but to exhibit the truth so that it would suggest its own moral. He had a seemingly innate abhorrence of utilitarianism; and in various forms reiterated the remark, "It is not the office of the student of revelation to inquire *What will be useful;* but simply *What is true.*"[1] According to these principles, his words did not fall like hailstones and coals of fire from the pulpit; the storm did not come down, nor the floods descend, nor the winds blow and beat upon his auditors; but his 'speech distilled as the dew, as the small rain upon the tender herb,' and the virtue of his hearers 'grew as the lily, and cast forth its roots like Lebanon.' He recoiled so much from the style of preaching adopted by many revivalists of his early days, that he condemned not exactly all exhortation, but all vehement exhortation, in sermons. He believed that men are allured to virtue not by entreaties, but by the inherent excellence of virtue itself. He believed that men are repelled from the house of God by what some call "individuality," but what he called personality, in the pulpit; by words which the exhorters regard as "faithful," but which he regarded as uncivil. He believed that violent expostulation irritates the nerves and disgusts the taste oftener than it reforms the will of hearers. He believed the great persuasive to be the atonement made on Calvary. He was at home in the pulpit when he described "the portals of heaven opening, the Son of God appearing, not in terror, but

[1] Literary and Theological Review, Vol. i. p. 15.

in love; not to condemn, but to save,—heralded by a shout of peace and good-will; approaching with the olive-branch of reconciliation, in meek and humble guise, with a countenance of benignity and words of peace, and at last laying down his life for the sins of the world," thus recognizing in men a sentiment of generosity, "a susceptibility of being moved by kindness"; appealing to these principles, conquering men "not by any direct and violent hostility" to them, but by love and self-denial and grace.[1]

Calm and quiet as he was thought to be, yet while meditating on such themes before he entered the pulpit to preach upon them, he sometimes trembled with excitement, but as soon as he began to speak it seemed at if he had never trembled. He clothed his thoughts with the drapery of his rich but chastened imagination; his eye beamed and his whole countenance glowed with sentiment; his voice was agreeable, pliant, expressive of varied feeling; his utterance was deliberate, and disclosed his power to play upon the sensibilities of his auditors, as a musician sweeps the strings of a harp. His eloquence in the pulpit illustrates the principle, that unless an orator can rule his own spirit he cannot take the hearts of his audience; still the influence of his self-control depends upon his having such acute sensibilities as require a vigorous effort to govern them. Clear thought, deeply felt, and having possession of the speaker who has possession of himself, is eloquence.

In his homiletical, as well as other productions, Mr. Woods failed to illustrate the maxim that "every man is a debtor to his profession." He failed to finish what he had begun. He left his choice words in the air. He did not prepare for the press a single one of his more elaborate sermons. Some notes are found of their more prominent thoughts, of their most highly finished sentences, and these are the mementoes of the man. There are some artists who have gained as high a fame from the "studies" which they have laboriously executed as from any of their completed pictures; but the

[1] See, among other passages, Literary and Theological Review, Vol. ii. p. 359.

"sketches" as written by Mr. Woods give no worthy impression of the sermons as delivered by him. There was such a magic in his delivery as arose from the fact that some of his thoughts when spoken were as new to him as to his hearers. His discourses, as uttered extempore in part and memoriter in part, often surpassed any productions which he elaborated for the press. He needed the stimulus of an audience for the highest exercise of his powers. When he had passed from under the spell of attentive listeners, he felt unable to reproduce the sermon in a form comparable with that which sprung upon him in the pulpit, or with the lofty ideal which swayed before his mind. His high idea of a sermon was one reason why in his later years he recoiled from preaching. His excitement in preparing for the pulpit was followed by disappointment in not reaching the standard ever shining before him. The artist Opie was so dissatisfied with his pictures that often, in an agony of despondence, he exclaimed: "I never, never shall be a painter as long as I live." Mr. Woods had this spirit of an artist. His literary orations were followed by plaudits which heightened his ideal of a sermon, and made him despair of writing one. In 1840 he pronounced at Harvard College, and in 1842 he repeated at Dartmouth, a Phi-Beta-Kappa oration which was extolled by the poet Richard H. Dana as an honor to American literature. Even those who condemned its sentiments admitted its style to be unsurpassed, if not unequalled. In 1852, at the request of the city government and citizens of Portland, he delivered a Eulogy on Daniel Webster. In 1859, at the request of the Maine Historical Society, he pronounced in the presence of that Society and of the State Legislature, a Eulogy on Parker Cleveland, LL.D., the celebrated Professor of Chemistry in Bowdoin College. In 1862 he delivered an Address at the opening of the New Hall of the Medical School. These four productions were in themselves sufficient to mark their author as a man of broad culture, ripe learning, and rhetorical skill. In several cities of New England he delivered a Lecture on the "Liberties of the Ancient Repub-

lics." The secular press was exultant in praise of the lecturer, — of his "majestic grasp of thought," his "melody of language," the "intoxicating charm of his oratory." Still his most masterly efforts out of the pulpit were inferior to some of his efforts in the pulpit. Every new discourse gave him new views of what is possible in eloquence, and discouraged him from attempting what he dared not believe that he could attain. If he had cherished as much faith in himself as he cherished in the mediaeval divines, his published sermons would be now the delight of his friends. A modest man will often shrink from beginning what a bold man will successfully accomplish. Some virtues are an obstacle to immediate prosperity. Andrew Jackson was wont to say, "there is policy in rashness."

In the career of Mr. Woods as an orator there is one noteworthy fact, and a similar fact is obvious in some other, but not in all, departments of his activity; he did not ascend by slow and gradual steps to his high position, but he reached it at a bound. His earlier discourses were not much, if at all, inferior to his later. During the forty-eight years of his ministry he did not appear to be rising higher and higher; it can be said of him that at the first he was great, but not that he "ever great and greater grew." He started on one of the clerical table-lands, and he remained there. It is a common mark of a precocious mind to be superior, but not progressive.

Mr. Woods was more remarkable perhaps for his private conversation than for his public addresses. His colloquial powers, although recognized before, were never so fully developed as during his residence in New York. The different personalities embodied within him imparted a singular interest to his table-talk. He had read not only those books which appertained to his clerical office, but also those which qualified him for promiscuous intercourse. His memory was stored with illustrative remarks from the poems of Goethe, Schiller, the French as well as English dramatists, the Euro-

pean as well as the American historians. He was a connoisseur as well as an amateur of the fine arts. He was free from pedantry and ostentation; his diction was neat, select, elegant, though familiar; like Addison he preferred cheerfulness to mirth; he had a delicate but not a boisterous wit; he was amusing while instructive; adroit but not caustic in repartee. He had the one accomplishment which conversationalists so often want, — the accomplishment which distinguishes the colloquy from the monologue, — he was a good listener as well as talker. He allowed himself to utter no words of flattery, yet his deferential ways were a perpetual compliment to the circle which gathered around him. His address was gentle and kindly; he never appeared to be on the strain, and never kept his companions on the strain, to say anything eminently wise or useful or proper. He put himself and others at their ease; and this is the secret of a conversationalist. Mr. Fox, requesting Dr. Lawrence to put on paper what he wished to tell, said: "I love to read your writings, I hate to hear you talk." Many friends of Mr. Woods who loved to read what he had indited with his pen, loved still more to hear what he was so felicitous in uttering with his lips. No small part of the influence he exerted through his entire life flowed from his conversation. His choice words cannot now be recalled, but they left a permanent impression on the heart. He took men one by one and influenced them singly as he could not have influenced them in a mass. He broke many faggots each by itself, when he could not have broken them if they had been all bound together. More than one eminent man has said: "If I have ever accomplished anything in life, I am indebted for it to the conversation of Mr. Woods."

It has been said of Sir James Mackintosh that his varied learning ought to have been preserved in books, but was allowed to evaporate in parlor-talk. Lord John Russell observes: "Conversation was his favorite employment, and his chief seduction." The poet Rogers says: "He sacrificed himself to conversation; he read for it, thought for it, and gave up

future fame for it." The faculty of conversation often steals away the enterprise of authorship. Still, many a man has controlled public opinion by his familiar colloquies. Uttering the right word at the right moment, he has noiselessly impressed his own mind upon the few listeners who in their turn have moulded the minds of the community. Conversation is sometimes like the fresh rain, while a book is sometimes like a stagnant reservoir. The river flows from small, hidden springs.

In 1835 Mr. Woods was called to the Professorship of Sacred Literature in the Theological Seminary at Bangor, Maine. He remained in this office nearly four years. During his two years residence in New York he had extended his investigations in the department of Biblical criticism. He therefore felt at home in his new professorship. Young men of high promise were attracted to the Seminary by the fame of his accomplishments. One of his pupils who has now attained a world-wide celebrity has written: "I entertained a profound admiration for the Professor's scholarship. To few young men had the world of thought opened its gates so widely. He had the high faculty of inspiring his scholars; he made them feel that their studies demanded their most earnest effort. He made them see that they were entering upon a road hung with fruit on either hand. They had a sense of reward in all their labors. They were not beating the air. In this view of the Professor's character he seemed to be one of the elect of God, chosen for distinguished service in his kingdom." Some of his literary labors in this Professorship will be detailed in the sequel.

In 1839, before he had reached the age of thirty-two years, Professor Woods was called from his office at Bangor to the Presidency of Bowdoin College in Brunswick, Maine. He is said to have been nominated for the Presidency by the Honorable William Pitt Preble, a Justice of the Supreme Court of Maine, and an admirer of the Professor's elegant scholar-

ship. The young President delivered his Inaugural Discourse on the third of September, 1839. It was one of his most felicitous efforts. It awakened the most sanguine hope that he would augment the power of the College in the church and in the state.

Some of his early friends, while they regarded him as qualified for almost any office which he would be willing to accept, did not regard him as distinctively fitted for the Presidency of a college. His own preference had been to expend his strength on Biblical or philosophical or historical researches, or in calm and quiet meditation, rather than in keeping ward by day and watch by night over young men, some of whom were sent instead of going to college. He had been wont to recoil from the position of a disciplinarian, who must square his own conduct according to rule in order to stand as a model before those whom he governed. If he had been a member of the bar, he would have been more eminent as an advocate for his clients, than as a prosecuting attorney. He would have been quick to discern the signs of innocence or the palliations of guilt. In later years he justified the law for the capture of fugitive slaves, but his nature would never have inclined him to chase the fugitives or to punish them if 'overtaken in their fault.' When he accepted the Presidency of the College he crossed many of his predilections; and still, such was his power of adapting himself to circumstances, that he was not only contented in his office, but happier than he had been in any other. He soon developed his many-sidedness. He gave his mind less than formerly to his Oriental studies, and more to the practical details of life. He surprised his early friends by his adroitness in diplomacy. He began to cultivate the natural sciences more than ever, and he qualified himself to superintend all the departments of collegiate study, as well as to hold instructive converse with experts in the various professions.

He had indulged a kind of personal friendship for books, but now more than ever he cherished a personal friendship for young men. They not only knew, but felt, him to be their

friend. He breathed courage into the fainting Freshman and soothed the returning prodigal. His wealth of learning was at the disposal of his pupils. His private converse with them was more instructive, because more stimulating than a book. They had never traversed the fields from which he had garnered ripe fruit. He was familiar with authors whose names, as he repeated them, had a strange sound; and the young men were no less astonished at the multitude of his ideas than charmed with the style in which he expressed them. His familiar style was classical.

When he assumed the presidental office he had the enterprise to request that a larger measure of instruction be assigned to him than had been required of his predecessors. He was wise in adhering to the old theory that the presiding officer of a college should be prominent as a teacher, particularly an ethical teacher. His affluence of theological lore was skilfully used in corroborating Paley's Evidences of Christianity, and his rhetorical culture clothed the Analogy of Bishop Butler with a new grace. It was a remark of Goethe that "a man who understands only one language fails to understand that one;" and President Woods illustrated the truth that he who understands many languages may signalize himself as a master of the one which he daily uses. He also illustrated the truth of Guizot's remark that "every teacher should know far more than he will be called upon to teach; for the more he knows of everything the better he can teach anything." The esteem in which he was held by such men as Eliphalet Nott, Francis Wayland, Edward Everett, and other collegiate presidents reduplicated the reverence with which he was regarded at home. His light shone the brighter by the multitude of its reflectors. Bowdoin College was raised to a new honor by the dignity with which he represented it in the Universities of Europe and America.

In 1843 Doctor Woods rendered to the College a service which will be held in lasting remembrance. The Institution had been named Bowdoin College in honor of James Bow-

doin, once Governor of Massachusetts. It had subsequently received liberal donations from Mr. James Bowdoin, the son of the Governor. In the estate of that son the College had a reversionary interest. Quite accidentally the eye of President Woods rested on a newspaper paragraph announcing the death of James Temple Bowdoin, a nephew of the above-named donor. The President took immediate measures to ascertain and secure the rights of the College under the will of its princely benefactor. He made himself familiar with the legal questions involved in the case. The ablest counsellors of the Massachusetts Bar were called to his aid, but they were surprised to find him as much at home as themselves in the law of "Contingent Remainders." They pronounced his conduct of the affair "masterly." The Trustees and also the Overseers of the College recorded their votes, acknowledging "his constancy, fidelity, and prudence" in bringing the enterprise to a successful issue. The funds which he thus secured were appropriated to the erection of the new chapel which now adorns the grounds of the College. That imposing edifice is a monument of his adroitness and perseverance. It is a significant memento of his architectural taste. It embodies the aesthetic theories which in the days of his youth he began to recommend. His influence on the architecture of our land was silent, indeed, but not small.

In his discipline of his pupils President Woods was naturally influenced by Dr. Eliphalet Nott, for the benefit of whose instructions he had left Dartmouth for Union College in 1824. He aimed, like President Nott, to make the collegians respect themselves, and thus revere the law as their friend, rather than resist it as their foe. He endorsed the words uttered by Dr. Nott in conversation with Professor Tayler Lewis: "The college is a family, and its government should be parental. These young students are my children. I am to them in place of a father. I feel as such toward them, and not simply as their governor or their official head." After recording these words, Professor Lewis näively adds: "There was connected with this paternal discipline an almost

unavoidable evil. The good boys, of whom I was one,— having no college misdemeanors, slight or serious, to boast of,— could hardly help feeling sometimes, that the Doctor was partial to 'the wilder fellows'; that he rather liked them, in fact, and took more pains with them than with the other and more exemplary members of college."[1] As was to be expected the unusual courtesy of President Woods in his intercourse with his pupils, his lenient and winning ways, combined with his charming discourses, with his rich and graceful Baccalaureate Addresses, gave him a marvellous popularity with the twenty-six classes who received their diplomas from him; and when, after his resignation of his Presidency, he appeared at any assemblage of the alumni he was greeted with tumults of applause.

The early colleges of New England had flourished under the auspices of the Congregational denomination. The President of Harvard was considered the head of the Massachusetts clergy. In the great processions of ministers, during the election week at Boston, he walked first. The Congregational pastors of Connecticut held their high festival during the Commencement week at Yale. New Haven was their Jerusalem; thither the tribes went up; they walked about Zion; told the towers thereof; marked well her bulwarks, and considered her palaces. Bowdoin College had been nurtured in a similar spirit by the Orthodox Congregationalists of Maine. They had enjoyed the denominational support of its Presidents, and a majority of all its Professors. They had been in sympathy with its internal administration. In large degree it had been dependent on them for its pupils. They had been its most constant patrons. Its traditions, however, had not been all in one line. A majority of its Board of Trustees had not been adherents to the orthodox faith. Its Board of Overseers had not been of one creed. Conservative as he was, Mr. Woods looked upon these last

[1] Memoirs of Eliphalet Nott, D.D., LL.D., for sixty-two years President of Union College. By C. Van Santvoord, D.D., with Contribution and Revision by Professor Tayler Lewis of Union College, p. 167.

named facts with deference. He took no special care to conciliate the pastors whose religious affinities were like those of his father. If he had done so he would have drawn around him and to him, as few other men could do, the sympathies and affections of the Congregationalists in Maine. He would have been the centre of an admiring circle who seemed to have a traditional right to regard him as their co-worker. But he declined to mingle in their ecclesiastical councils and their ministerial associations; he did not preach their ordination sermons; he seldom appeared in their pulpits; he opposed some of their distinctive principles. His fascinating qualities were such that he gave an unprecedented fame to the College while he was stepping over its denominational ramparts; but some of us, of course, will think that he would have given it a more stable prosperity if he had followed the traditions of his predecessors in office. He was a man of traditions. He had a kind of filial reverence for divines like Newman, Pusey, and Keble. To whatever church these men might belong, they would prefer to attract its sympathy for the colleges over which they might preside. Like these men, President Woods was a theoretical churchman; unlike them, he was not a practical one.

The early colleges of New England have not been political schools; have not meant to interfere with the free thought or free speech of their pupils on civil more than on religious themes. Still, they have been, in the main, allied with one political class, which has retained its substantial identity of character although it has assumed different names. They have been supported by the party called at one time Federal, at another time Whig, at another Republican. Bowdoin College had received important aid from men belonging to the same party. If President Woods had continued his alliance with them he would have continued to receive their homage. He deemed it his duty, however, to oppose their distinctive policy. He did not yield to them when concession appeared to be the dictate of his self-interest. On some questions he has been called inconsistent with himself,

but in adhering to his political views in regard to the Southern slave-system he showed a marked self-consistency. He had opposed the abolitionists in their depression; he continued to oppose them in their elevation. Urbane as he was, he could not resist the policy of the Maine Republicans without alienating them from him. Thus he came into conflict with statesmen as well as clergymen whose alliance was most needful for him. In his youth he was not regarded as a practical man, nor as a man of strong will; but in maintaining his ground against political and ecclesiastical parties during our late civil war, he developed a skill in diplomacy, and a determined spirit which surprised his early friends. The time came, however, when he deemed it his duty to lay down his office. He had planned to lay it down when he had reached his sixtieth year. His resignation took effect on the second of July 1866, four months previous to his entrance on that year.

While tracing the course of Dr. Woods as a conversationalist, preacher, professor, and president, it was convenient for us to omit some details of his course as an editor and theologian.

In January 1834, while residing in New York, he became the editor and proprietor of the Literary and Theological Review, and he continued to be its editor until December 1837, nearly two years after his entrance on his professorship at Bangor. He conducted this Review "on his own responsibility, with the advice of an association of gentlemen in the city of New York and its neighborhood." "The leading object of the work" was "the statement and vindication of the doctrines of the Christian religion, as held by the great body of the reformed church." The more specific design was to resist certain innovations in theory and practice which alarmed the stricter Calvinists of that day. Still another design was to improve the tone of our national literature. The early characteristics of Mr. Woods qualified him to be in many particulars an admirable editor of such a Quarterly.

He was well-fitted to enlist youthful writers in his service, and thus to unearth previously undeveloped genius. As early as 1832, before he was twenty-five years of age, he was urgently recommended by Richard H. Dana, the poet, to be the editor of the Spirit of the Pilgrims,— a periodical which Dr. Lyman Beecher styled "the right arm of Calvinism."

In conducting his Theological Review, Mr. Woods threw out his opinions at once and in a mass, instead of stealthily expressing them one by one. He came out simultaneously against various parties in the church and in the state, instead of adopting the policy of a cautious general who confines himself to one war at a time. He had been loved as mild and gentle, but he now stood up as a controversialist. He proved that his amiable spirit was not an easy indifference to what he deemed the truth. He developed his faithfulness to his convictions, even at the expense of assailing the creed of some of his friends. In his Introduction to his Review he sounded a bugle-note of battle, and his bravery elicited the admiration of his confederates. The following was one of his utterances: "Most cheerfully, then, can we subscribe to the fearless declaration of Coleridge, that 'as far as *opinions* and not *motives*, *principles* and not *men*, are concerned, we neither are tolerant nor wish to be regarded as such.' In the same noble spirit he [Coleridge] affirms: 'As much as I love my fellow-men, so much and no more will I be intolerant of their heresies and unbeliefs; and I will honor and hold forth the right hand of fellowship to every individual who is equally intolerant of that which he conceives to be such in me.'"[1] In conformity with this proclamation, Mr. Woods wrote some and inserted other paragraphs condemning in the general the principles of what was called the New School of Theology,

[1] Literary and Theological Review, Vol. i. p. 20. See Coleridge's Friend (1st Am. ed.), p. 80. In soliciting the contributions of European theologians, Mr. Woods remarked: "It is the principal object of the Review to sustain orthodoxy in opposition to the decidedly Pelagian tendencies which have been showing themselves in our country, and to uphold a settled order of worship and religious action, in opposition to the extravagant measures which have seemed ready to sweep everything before them."—Letter to Rev. Dr. Raffles.

and in particular the principles of what was called the New Haven School. He applauded the old system of teaching the Westminster Assembly's Catechism to the rising generation. He condemned the current literature of our Sabbath Schools. Dr. Bennet Tyler, Dr. Asahel Nettleton, Dr. Nathaniel W. Hewit, Dr. John Woodbridge were delighted with his bravery and his agility as a leader of the war-horses. But he soon went beyond their lines. He wrote some, and inserted other paragraphs in vigorous opposition to the new methods of conducting religious revivals, especially the methods adopted by Rev. Charles G. Finney. He believed that these new measures in practice were an outgrowth of the new speculations in doctrine. In resisting these novelties he minded the proverb which he so often cited: "My son, fear God and the king, and meddle not with those who are given to change." He manifested his dread of novelties by inserting an Essay defending the genuineness of 1 John v. 7, 8: "There are three that bear record in heaven," etc. He inserted an Article, which he had translated from the German, disparaging the science of geology as far as it conflicted with the first of Genesis; and favoring the principle that "it is certainly wrong to make nature, which is lower, the measure and criterion of revelation, which is higher, and more immediately and directly from God."[1] In his antipathy against violent and sudden changes, he published severe censures on the men whom he termed Radicals and Ultra-Reformers; but many of his criticisms on these men would have been equally just if they had been made on Martin Luther and his confederates in the Protestant Reformation. He allowed the publication of several paragraphs which implied, and in his social converse he frankly asserted, that the course of the German Reformers was either a misfortune or a mistake, and that reformation *in* the church might and should have been substituted for separation *from* the church. He exhibited his independent spirit not only in opposing the course pursued by Temperance Societies and Anti-slavery Societies, but also

[1] Literary and Theological Review, Vol. i. p. 120 sq.

in publishing paragraphs against the general system of Voluntary Societies as contrasted with Ecclesiastical Boards. He believed that the work of disseminating religious truth should be performed not by irresponsible associations, but by the church as such. In conversing with theologians he strenuously defended an Article which he inserted in his Review, advocating the union of all evangelical sects in one church. It was proposed that this church retain the forms and the creed which prevailed in the third and fourth century, and cleave to the principle of Tertullian: "Whatever is first is true; whatever is more recent is spurious."

In publishing such Articles, some of which he wrote, and others he orally defended, the editor came out in direct antagonism to some of the very divines who had been the main supporters of the Review. One of these divines wrote an elaborate Article for the work, but Mr. Woods refused to publish it, and thus repelled one of the most noted champions of orthodoxy. Even when defending the doctrines of Calvinism he was wont to make concessions which displeased the Calvinists of the Old School. Thus while he was asserting that the doctrine of "absolute decrees," of "unconditional election" is a "necessary inference" from the true doctrine of "the entire inability of man," he said: "We cannot but approve that indeterminateness of the Articles of the English Church on this subject which allows them to be honestly subscribed by those who lean either to a Calvinistic or an Arminian construction of the Christian system. No principle appears to us more obvious or more important, than that public articles which are to be made the basis and the terms of Christian fellowship should be so simply framed as to secure the assent of all evangelical Christians, however weak or imperfect they may be in the faith of the gospel."[1] Of course the editor did not expect that the veteran athletes,

[1] Literary and Theological Review, Vol. iv. pp. 253, 254. See, also, Vol. ii. pp. 140 sq., 311 sq. It is a singular fact that the policy advocated by some extremists of the New School, favoring the admission of Arminians as well as Calvinists into the Congregational ministry, was advocated as early as 1837, by the editor of a periodical patronized by extremists of the Old School.

who had fought for the distinctive principles and the technical terms of the ancient Calvinism, would endorse his plan of a national church combining the different evangelical denominations, and satisfying itself with a "simple creed." They preferred a creed containing many articles, even if it met the demands of only the few believers, rather than a creed containing only a few articles and thereby meeting the demands of the many believers. They confided in a small number of men strong in one comprehensive faith, rather than in a large number whose faith was limited.

In this opposition to some divines of the Old School and some of the New, to many revivalists, abolitionists, and advocates of a rigid temperance, Mr. Woods developed his enthusiasm for what he deemed the right cause. He thought it cowardly to inquire : What will become of my influence ? He stood ready to throw his influence away. He was an admirer not only of self-forgetfulness, but also of self-abnegation. He often acted on the two principles ; first, that what is true is useful, and secondly, that it ought to be uttered whether it is useful or not. He had an early contempt for utilitarian theories, and often shrank from the calculation of consequences, and perhaps as often proved himself to be an expert calculator. Thus was he marked, here as elsewhere, by redundancy rather than deficiency.

Deficiency ! The utterance of this word changes the whole current of our thoughts. Opulent as he was in his resources we cannot say of him as Dryden said of the Duke of Buckingham :

> "A man so various that he seemed to be
> Not one, but all mankind's epitome."

Three of the most important series of Articles which he began to publish in his periodical he never completed ; the periodical as a whole did not equal his exalted standard, and he broke off his connection with it abruptly at the end of four years. His affluence of theological learning was never afterward developed in any published treatise or even essay.

Notwithstanding all his extensive preparations, he ceased at the early age of thirty years to be a theological author. Leonard Woods, the first, published six octavo volumes, in addition to pamphlets and essays which would fill two octavos more; but all the theological essays, pamphlets, and treatises which were written, composed, or translated by Leonard Woods, the second, would occupy less than half the space which had been filled by his father. He devoted a large amount of time and labor to the editorial care of his father's History of Andover Theological Seminary, and in this enterprise he made extensive researches into the early New England theology; but the results of his work he never perfected. The riches of his theological literature, however, were not lost. They were a treasure in his Bowdoin lecture-room. He wrote his letters deep on the hearts of his pupils. Living scholars were his books, and they, instead of types and ink, are the means of perpetuating his influence.

We have now partially indicated the mode and degree in which the history of President Woods corresponded with the early predictions concerning him.[1] Let us now indicate this mode and degree more fully. It is easy to perceive that his editorial course in New York and Bangor tended to alienate from him a large class of Congregationalists, and allure to him the *élite* of some other denominations who overlooked his Calvinism in their approval of his independence. He lessened his intercourse with certain hard workers of his own sect who opposed his speculations, and he contracted special intimacies with the refined and philosophical members of other sects who rejoiced in his literary conversation. He was human. Like a sensitive plant he recoiled from the injurious touch. Almost every man forms his opinions under the influence of social sympathies; is drawn nearer and nearer to the companions who appreciate him, is repelled farther and farther from the strangers who oppose him. From his boyhood Dr. Woods had nurtured a class of senti-

[1] See pages 10, 11.

ments which prepared him to welcome many developments of the Oxford divinity. Here he was certainly self-consistent through life. As early as the year 1836 he began to read the Oxford Tracts. They struck a cord of sympathy in his heart. They gave a new force to some of his life-long tendencies. In August 1840 he set sail for Europe. He had no sooner landed on the British coast than he moved toward Oxford, as a needle toward the magnet. "I have passed [here]" he writes, "one of the happiest weeks of my life. All my prepossessions in favor of the English system of education have been justified after the most minute inspection. The studies are not more extensive or more thorough than with us; but there is here a magnificence of architecture, an assemblage of paintings, statues, gardens, and walks; above all a solemnity and grandeur of religious worship which does more to elevate the taste and purify the character than the whole encyclopaedia of knowledge. In each one of the twenty colleges here there is a chapel, the poorest of which surpasses the richest I have ever seen in America. And the service daily performed within them is congruous to the place. In several of them it is performed by eight chaplains and sixteen choristers, robed in white, who are all supported by the foundations, and by whom day by day, and year after year, God is magnified in strains delivered down from the primitive church, if not the very strains of David himself. The effect produced by the service thus performed is inconceivably great, especially upon the young men here. The chapels are never entered but for the purposes of religion, or without the marks of the profoundest reverence. I have been received [by the gentlemen] here in a manner which has made me forget that I am not altogether one of them. Dr. Pusey has treated me like a brother. He is a humble, devout, self-denying Christian, devoting his large fortune, his time, and strength to the cause of Christ. I heard him preach what would have been called a faithful, practical sermon, in any New England pulpit. I have attended his Hebrew lectures, and could have wished that the godly fear and reverence

which he showed for the divine oracles might be shown by all expositors. I have talked with him hour by hour on all the doctrines of Christianity with an agreement at which he seemed to be not a little surprised. By him I have been taken into the very heart of [the Oxford] society, and have lived among the Fellows of the different colleges so intimately, breakfasting, dining, and supping in the different colleges alternately, that I have at last come to understand what I never could before, and what so few foreigners ever do, the system of the English universities. I have taken ample notes, of which I hope to make some use hereafter."

With a similar glow of enthusiasm the President describes his residence in the palaces of the British noblemen. He received flattering attentions from bishops and archbishops, dukes and duchesses, lords and ladies. In Paris he dined with Louis Phillippe at the Tuilleries. He interested the king, and charmed the queen, and captivated the princesses. During one of his evening visits to the palace he saw 'in its highest perfection all which is meant by the pride of life'; he enjoyed the festivities until about three o'clock in the morning, but remembered that 'he had been brought up on the idea that it was almost wrong to be out after nine o'clock in the evening, even for a religious meeting.' He then pursued his course toward Rome; and when we reflect that he had been trained as a Puritan of the Puritans on Andover hill, before the fine arts had begun to be very enthusiastically cultivated there, we feel tempted to say that he had a triumphal entrance into the eternal city. There were cardinals who welcomed him with profound respect. The Pope, Gregory XVI., paid him distinguished honor; invited him to a private colloquy at the Vatican, conversed with him for an hour in the Latin language, and afterward expressed his admiration for the young American who expressed so many wise thoughts in such classical and elegant Latin.

Before his visit to Europe he had been absorbed in the writings of the Count DeMaistre. After his visit he became perhaps equally absorbed in the writings of Thomas Aquinas.

Probably no two authors exerted so much influence upon him as these. Under the stimulus which he received from them, particularly from Count DeMaistre, he had projected the plan of an extended treatise which would require years of preparation. He intended to incorporate into this treatise the substance of his Inaugural Discourse and of his Lecture on the Liberties of the Ancient Republics.[1] The general tenor of it would have resembled the English work which has since been published, under the title of "The Formation of Christendom."[2] He elaborated his plan, was dissatisfied with some of its features, changed and improved them, looked around on all sides, hesitated, but still expected, and at length the result of his extensive preparation lay entombed in his own mind.

What form of dogma was to be advocated in this "labor of his life" it is safer to conjecture than to proclaim. He was one of those peculiar men who have opinions and opinions and opinions. The first class of his opinions he never made known except in the bosom of his most confidential friendship. He did not feel sufficient confidence in them to stand responsible for them. He confided in a second class of his opinions so much that he would reveal them in oral conversation, but not so much that he would reveal them in a published treatise. A third class of opinions he held so firmly that he was willing to record them on the printed page. We may treat him unfairly when we repeat in one form, one order, one proportion, what he shrank from uttering in that form, that order, that proportion. A conversationalist is apt to express in the parlor an opinion which, if printed, would have a deeper emphasis, a bolder prominence than he would justify or allow it. The tones of the voice give a perspective, a fore-shortening which cannot be given by the ink and type. Dr. Woods was apt to idealize what others would express in a more realistic form. What he thought in secret, let it re-

[1] See pp. 29, 30, 33, above.

[2] By T. W. Allies. In three volumes. London: Longman, Green, Roberts, and Green. 1865, 1869, 1870.

main as he thought it. What he uttered in conversation, let it remain conversational. What he was not ready to publish let it remain unpublished. To the world he has given no reason to believe that he ever abandoned the Augustinian dogmas which he publicly defended in his youth. His latest theological labors were devoted to the protection of the "Andover Creed." As his character seemed to combine differing personalities, so his ecclesiastical faith may have comprehended portions of diverging symbols. It may have been a single garment woven without seam, while it may appear to have been a coat of many colors. Notwithstanding all his life-long proclivities toward a mediaeval ritualism, yet so far as his public relations are considered he lived and died an Independent. Within the circle of the Congregationalists there has not arisen a single conspicuous man who was practically a more uncompromising Independent than Dr. Woods. He maintained a broad catholicism; he was frank in avowing his disapproval of here and there a principle adopted by his ancestors; yet, on the whole, he preferred to remain self-poised, in the denomination which they had hallowed. As it was his living, so it was his dying wish, that his body should rest in the Andover cemetery near to the bodies of his father and his mother; of that instructor whom he venerated as an old prophet; of that classmate whom as he loved in the beginning, so he continued to love unto the end. Further than this history has not recorded; further than this I doubt whether history has a right to record.

We now come to a new chapter in the biography of President Woods. In 1839 he was elected a member of the Maine Historical Society, and in 1852 a member of its Publishing Committee, and also of its Standing Committee. "He was not only a useful but a delightful member of these Committees; was not only respected, but venerated and loved." In 1867 he was requested by the Society to collect materials in Europe for the early history of the State of Maine. The Governor of Maine, acting under the authority of the Legis-

lature, gave him a commission for this purpose. He was also recommended by the Department of State at Washington. He was favorably introduced by some of the most distinguished historians in our country to some of the most distinguished historians in Europe. In this his second foreign tour he was a most industrious historian from June 1867, until September 1868. Being highly accredited by our highest civilians he had access to various public and private collections of rare and valuable documents; he explored the archives of the British State-Paper Offices, and obtained transcripts of valuable documents relating to the early history of Maine. He gained access to the unrivalled collection of early and authentic maps in the British Museum. During his residence in Paris he had frequent interviews with M. D'Avezac, the learned archaeologist, and obtained from him interesting and important information. He induced him to write "A letter on the voyages of John and Sebastian Cabot" advocating the opinion "that the voyage made by the Cabots in which North America was first discovered, after the times of the Northmen, took place in 1494, and was followed in 1497, 1498, and 1517, by three successive voyages to the same regions." This letter was translated from the French by Dr. Woods, and published in the first volume of the "Documentary History of the State of Maine." The larger part of that interesting volume is "A History of the Discovery of the East Coast of North America, particularly the Coast of Maine, from the Northmen in 990 to the Charter of Gilbert in 1578, by J. G. Kohl, of Bremen, Germany." For this History, illustrated by copies of the earliest maps and charts of our Eastern Coast, we are indebted to President Woods. He knew the high reputation of Dr. Kohl, as a historian and a cartographer, made frequent visits to him in Bremen, Germany, and made arrangements with him for writing the history. The whole volume of five hundred and thirty five octavo pages is a monument to the enterprise, sagacity, and persuasive power of Dr. Woods.

During this visit to Europe he also obtained a copy of the

"Discourse on Western Planting, written in the year 1584, by Richard Hakluyt." This discourse had lain in manuscript nearly three hundred years. Dr. Woods exhibited rare skill and shrewdness in discovering it, and a singular adroitness in procuring an exact copy of it for the press. The discourse with the preliminary and appended papers forms the second volume, containing two hundred and fifty-three octavo pages, of the Documentary History of Maine. To this volume Dr. Woods prepared an elaborate Preface and Introduction. He left them both, however, in rough notes, "written in several memorandum books, and on detached sheets of paper, intended evidently as hints to the memory for future use." These loose papers lay in his library when it was injured and nearly destroyed by fire. To bring them together, so as to form a consistent whole, would have been a discouraging work, even if they had not been defaced by the action of the flames and the fire-engines. The health of Dr. Woods failed before he had adjusted to each other the *disjecta membra* of his work. In his best years he did not, and in his last years he could not obey the rule: "Propositum perfice opus." His notes were committed to his friend, the accomplished antiquarian, Dr. Charles Deane of Cambridge, Massachusetts. With marvellous ingenuity, patience, and faithfulness, Dr. Deane constructed the Preface and the Introduction mainly in the language of President Woods. The President was more than satisfied with them, and adopted them as his own. In itself the whole volume is one of remarkable and almost romantic interest. In its relation to Dr. Woods it is replete with melancholy suggestions.

We are now prepared for the saddest chapter of his life. He was remarkable for a kind of personal attachment to the books which he owned. He had an interest in them as his old friends. He loved not merely the souls, but also the bodies of them. He delighted in seeing them arranged along the walls of a capacious room, and in walking to and fro by their side, as if he were conversing with them, and they were

sensitive to his praise of them. In 1873 he built such a room. It was a model Library containing a fine apparatus for study, and finished with exquisite taste. For three weeks he revelled in its luxurious accommodations. On the eighth of August, while partaking of his morning repast, he was startled by the cry: "Mr. Woods, your Library is on fire." These words fell like a thunderbolt upon him. Twelve hundred choice volumes with which his life had been bound up were encircled by the flames. Manuscripts on which he had spent years of toil were either consumed entirely, or else damaged so as to become mementos of his loss. Only two hundred of his books were rescued from the conflagration, and these were not his special favorites, nor were they saved without being charred by the fire, or drenched by the water. Such a sudden loss of intellectual property which could never be restored, such a rupture of life-long associations which could never regain their charm, seemed for a time to paralyze him. Still he uttered no complaint. He dragged out a few months in the work of arranging some of his scorched manuscripts, and determining what to do with the defaced remnants of his books.

In the winter of 1874, he began to exhibit signs of a physical disorder than which none could be more disheartening to a mind like his. For twenty-five or thirty years, there had been reasons for anticipating this disorder. Perhaps the presentiment of it had modified his intellectual course. Perhaps we may explain some unexpected features of his history by the normal influence of such a presentiment. His mother, after having suffered twelve years from paralysis, had died of that disease. He inherited her constitution. Ominous pains of body began to warn him of his end. His memory, too, began to fail. On the 15th day of June, 1875, he was prostrated by the paralytic shock for which, perhaps, he had been secretly preparing his mind. He soon rallied his powers in some degree, but they were like soldiers whose commander had been wounded on the field. It has been happily said[1]

[1] By Professor C. C. Everett, in a speech delivered in Boston soon after the decease of Dr. Woods.

that in his best days his life was like "the ripe, deep, serious melody of the organ in contrast with the sentimentalism of the flute, and the harshness of the clarion." But now he began to lose the mastery of some keys of the organ. The noble instrument lost its large variety of tone. Its richest and sweetest sounds lived only in their echo. If, in his early youth, the poets had foretold the manner of his death, they would have sung:

> "The year grows rich as it groweth old,
> And life's latest sands are its sands of gold."

But the golden sands of his life were dimmed. He had been wont to feel a poetic interest in the old cathedral, whose well-turned cornices were crumbling into dust, and to express a peculiar sadness at the thought of a mind, the mysterious cathedral, its arches falling one by one, its pillars failing to give the needed support. Such a mind seems to be attending the funeral of its own faculties, and mourning their untimely decay. Still that equanimity which he had cultivated in the days of his strength continued to adorn him in the days of his weakness. With painful effort and with frequent rebuffs he labored to solve the philosophical and historical problems which had previously tasked his mind. He would listen to the reading of a book by others when he could no longer hold the book for reading it himself. Every night before he laid his head upon his pillow he desired to hear a chapter of Thomas a Kempis, a Psalm of the Old Testament, or some verses from his mother's copy of the New Testament.

At length, however, about the end of the year 1877, came another of the shocks which seemed to threaten the demolition of his powers. He began to lose his interest in the literature which did not relate to the eternal world. "Numa and the Muses called after him in vain." We have read of the eagle dying in the cage where it had been long confined, yet rousing itself for a brief minute, and trying to flap its wings when it caught a glimpse of the mountains over which it had once wheeled its flight. So the stricken President, while curbed and fettered by his disease, would show the signs of

his old vivacity when he heard the familiar sound: "Veni Creator Spiritus," and the sequence: "Veni Sancte Spiritus." The ancient Latin prayers, the venerable liturgic services, would seem for a time to revive his slumbering energies. It was not to be expected that he would utter rapturous words during what he had once described as that "dreary season of infirmity and decrepitude in which the vital flame flickers faintly in its socket"; but all his words were a paraphrase of the prayer: "Not as I will, but as Thou wilt." Resignation, as it was a signal virtue of his life, became the crowning virtue of his death. Throughout the foregoing narrative it is seen that while he was inconsistent with himself in certain details of his history, yet in the general course of it he was true to certain principles which he adopted early and retained late. A humble emblem of this constancy may be detected in the incident, that the last prayer which he ever offered aloud was in the words of the first prayer which his mother taught him. In his childish days he began to utter it before he had learned to lisp its words distinctly; he held it in his sensitive heart; and on the last night of his life, among the last words which he ever uttered, when he was again unable to pronounce the syllables distinctly, he repeated the same prayer, and laid himself "down to sleep."